April 1952

# Fellowship

FRENCH WATCHCASE MAKER *Communiteer*

*Russia Through the Naked Eye.* by Paul Cadbury

20c

ff The first of a series of stories about "intentional communities," is "The Community of Work," by Claire Huchet Bishop. It tells of the groups that have sprung up all over France simply out of the need of men, in these materialistic, impersonal times, to live as whole human beings. Mrs. Bishop is the author of a book on the same subject, *All Things Common*. . . . The remarkably objective, but remarkably intelligent and knowing report of Paul Cadbury on the trip to Russia of a group of English Friends appears in this issue under the title "Russia through the Naked Eye." . . . From Germany comes the passionate, persuasive argument against remilitarization, by a German who knows whereof he speaks, since he has lived through its results. "Dragons' Teeth Amid the Ruins" has been reprinted by Fellowship and should be ordered in quantity (see back cover) and given away to everyone you know, sent to your Senators and Congressmen, and distributed as widely as you can manage . . . A meditation by John Oliver Nelson, "The Crossing of Boundaries," comes from the *Kirkridge Contour*.


FELLOWSHIP

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ROM GERMANY COMES THE
/ARNING THAT THERE ARE

# DRAGONS' TEETH
## Amid the Ruins

*With introductory comments by*
A. J. MUSTE

THE CABINETS AND THE PEOPLES of Western Europe stagger from one olitical and economic crisis into nother. No less real and frightful the underlying spiritual crisis. he issue centers around the re-rmament which the United States , now subtly and now crudely and rutally, seeking to press upon iem.

If they do not rearm, they may e exposed to Russian attack or to ie rise to power of the native Com-iunist party. But if they build up ibstantial military establishments, iis is no guarantee of genuine de-ense. Russia may regard such re-rmament as threat or provocation nd be goaded into attack by the ery measures supposed to prevent ttack. Then there is the apparently isoluble problem of how to get enough money and goods for rearmament without plunging the economy into bankruptcy, driving the people into poverty and misery, and thus once more playing into the hands of the enemy, perhaps walking into a trap he deliberately set.

In some ways the most painful form of the dilemma to the French people, for example, bled white in two wars, is presented by the question of the rearmament of Germany. If the Russian army in effect stood on the Rhine, France would in the military sense be lost. Rearmament of Western Europe, in other words, without the vast German manpower and industrial resources, would be a joke. But Russia has given warning that she will not tolerate the rearmament of Western Germany. Moreover, to multitudes

of Frenchmen the specter of the Germany of the Kaiser and Hitler standing armed again on France's borders is even more terrifying than the Russian menace.

When we thus reflect on how the other people of Western Europe are torn by these issues, we get an inkling also of the agony many of the German people are undergoing. The gaping wounds of war are still visible in German cities. Millions of refugees from the East have fled into the Western zone. Between other Western European countries and the Communist bloc lands, Germany is a buffer. But between the latter countries and Germany itself there is no buffer. Moreover, Germany is split down the middle by the contending power blocs. Under present conditions, if war comes, the line of battle will run through the heart of the country.

What do the Germans themselves think about all this, and especially those who are peace-minded and do not want Germany to be armed again? There are many such. True, some who oppose rearmament today would favor it if only Germany were fully armed immediately and given free rein to reconquer territory now held by Poland and Russia. But hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, are against arms on principle.

For example, the foremost layman in the Evangelical Church of Germany, Dr. Heinemann, resigned from the Adenauer cabinet when it started to collaborate with the United States to rebuild West Germany's army and is joint chairman of a powerful Emergency League for the Peace of Europe, founded in November 1951, which has for its program "to preserve peace, free the Soviet zone from the totalitarian system, and reunite Germany." The League, which has as another chairman Frau Helene Wessel, leading Roman Catholic laywoman and member of Parliament, is intransigently opposed to rearmament. The Social Democratic Party demands a national referendum, contending that without this rearmament is unConstitutional. On February 29, 1952, delegates representing six million German labor unionists overruled an appeal by the Chairman of the Trade Unions' Federation to support the Adenauer rearmament program and demanded a general election on the issue.

## Silent March

The West German Constitution, moreover, forbids conscripting men against their consciences. Accordingly, when the Security Minister of the Bonn government in January announced plans for conscripting 300,000-400,000 young Germans, there was an immense wave of protest. At Stuttgart over a thousand people took part in a Silent March past the great military graveyard. The leaflet passed out by the marchers said:

*We don't want a second Hiroshima.*

*We don't want a second Korea.*

*We want to live in peace.*

The students at the School of Architecture in the same city passed by 437 to 21 votes, with 20 abstentions, a resolution rejecting all compulsory military service and declaring the CO clause in the Constitution to be unalterable.

The well-known German church leader, Martin Niemoller, wrote last fall in answer to a Lutheran mother who asked what her son should do if rearmament takes

lace: "I, myself, do not yet believe nat the actual rearmament will ake place. If it should, then my nree sons would in any case refuse nilitary service and would accept ny consequences resulting from uch action. So I can only recom-nend your son to do likewise, even hough I cannot save him from the onsequences."

Why these students, Roman Cath-lic and Protestant leaders, indus-rial workers, women and hosts of other Germans think and feel as they do is set forth in a vivid and distinctive way in the *Letter from Berlin* which follows. The author is a man who has worked indefatigably for peace over several decades. A West German, he has intimate knowledge also of conditions in the Soviet zone. He is a foe of all totalitarianism and as a result of his devotion to freedom spent several years in prison a decade or so ago.

## *Letter from Berlin*

WHILE THE BONN GOVERNMENT bargains around to get the best ossible price for the so-called Ger-nan contribution to a European rmy, the German people show lit-le enthusiasm for the prospect, and n many cases they feel great reluc-ance. There are some very good easons why this should be the case.

1. War would mean civil war for Germany. It would mean for the Germans what it has meant for the Koreans, with the addition of atom-c or bacteriological bombing. It vould mean utter destruction for a ountry where obliteration bomb-ng is known only too well.

2. The moral effect of the sud-len propaganda for rearmament in Western Germany is calamitous. It s less than two years ago that the hree Western High Commissioners or Germany, Mr. McCloy, Mr. Robertson and M. Francois-Poncet, ssued a decree threatening any-body who should plead for Ger-nan rearmament with prison for rom one year to life! This decree s still technically in force, and yet he same three High Commissioners hemselves, together with the Bonn government, today tell the German people that they should speedily rearm. This is too much to swallow, in too short a time.

3. The West German Bonn government of Premier Adenauer, which advocates rearmament in collaboration with the West, has been unable to solve the problem of the many millions of refugees from the East, who have a very miserable life, as do countless victims of the last war. And now the government, instead of taking care of those victims, is preparing for a war which will bring many more victims.

4. The Bonn government promises that in exchange for the German contributions to a European Army Germany will get full sovereignty. The Germans doubt this. They see foreign tanks making maneuvers on the fields of German peasants. Besides, sovereignty is not what matters so much to the man in the street. It is good for government officials, but does not mean much for him. He longs for an all-German union. He wants to be able to visit his aunt at Jena. The Western industrialist remembers the fine textiles he used to buy in Saxony, or he remembers how much of his own product he formerly sold

to Thuringia. Imagine what it would mean to Americans if suddenly a frontier were set up from Chicago to New Orleans, making it impossible for the Americans on one side to visit their friends on the other! Would you like it? Would you praise the government of one part of the country, when it would stubbornly reject all the many offers the other side has made to negotiate? This is the case here. The East has always offered negotiations, the West has always refused. The Eastern slogan: "If Germans won't talk to one another, they will shoot at one another" is very effective.

## Whose Advantage?

5. In spite of the very great deal Americans have done during recent years to help Western Germany, the fact is that the USA is becoming very unpopular, and rapidly. The reason is that the Germans feel that all this propaganda for rearmament is in the American, not the German, interest. America will survive after the next war, Germany will not. America had far fewer casualties in the first and second World Wars than any country in Europe including Russia, which always had most of all.

6. The American propaganda about "our way of life" is simply detrimental to American interests. The American way of life is not, and cannot be, ours. The few rich people, who have become rich now owing to the American help to their industries, will perhaps understand that slogan, but the poor, who are in a vast majority, will not. Shall we sacrifice our lives in order to enable the Americans to continue their "way of life"? We have nothing to win, as we shall not be among the survivors, but we have to lose all the little we have kept. (This argument is, I think, even more disastrous in India, China, and such countries where the living standard is still farther removed from the American than ours.)

7. It is equally stupid to say that if only we copy the American economic system, then we shall have the same wealth as the USA has. People over here are not so foolish as to believe that. The USA is consuming about two-thirds of the petrol of the whole world, and with many another commodity it is the same. It is impossible to introduce the "American way of life" everywhere. This world is not rich enough for such a scheme. The American standard of living can be maintained only at the expense of the huge mass of other people. Every increase of the standard of living in the USA makes the abyss even deeper.

8. Furthermore, if rearmament is imposed on us, the living standard will be lowered, owing to the enormous cost of a modern military establishment. This will bring the Communist danger nearer, rather than stave it off.

## The Communist Propaganda

9. There is little or no sympathy for a Communist regime in Germany. But people do not believe that the Russians or the Communists are willing to attack Western Europe. If the American propaganda is right, Russia has been heavily armed during the last six years, while the West was entirely disarmed. Why did not the Russians attack during all this time, if they really want to, why do they wait till the West is rearmed, in order to at-

ack then? Could all this not mean hat they have no intention to at- ack, at least not in Europe?[1]

10. The stories about the "Peo- le's Police" in the Eastern zone nd that it is a menace to peace are ot convincing to Western Ger- ans. It is heartily unpopular. Many of these police desert to the Vest, and they have told enough bout the inner workings and orale of that body so that Ger- ans of the West are not terrified t all.[2]

11. The constant peace propa- anda of the East is not regarded as heer hypocrisy. It is a strange way o prepare the minds for an aggres- ive war, to tell the people in end- ess posters and ribbons that war s hell and would mean the definite estruction of the whole of Ger- any. Recently manifestos have een sent to artists, educators, usicians, etc., pleading that any ind of poetry, plays, and teaching, hould be allowed with the sole ex- eption of works that glorify war or say that war is inevitable. Absolute freedom of teaching is proposed with this sole exception. This is not propaganda directed against the West (where there is certainly more liberty of teaching than in the East), so it appears to be sincere. No militarist wanting to prepare his people for an aggressive war has ever used such means of propaganda.[3]

## Russia's Fear

12. The Russians are undoubtedly desperately afraid of a revived German army, and it is no idle talk that they would take desperate measures against it. The Russians are not so much afraid of an army composed of French, Italian, Americans, English, etc. The Russian soldier is tough, he would deal with them, they think. But they are afraid of a German army. It is not only that the Germans once have invaded Russia doing a lot of mischief there. But especially, in the German army there are experts who know Russia and know about Russian ways of fighting. A German contingent in a European army would appear to the Russians to be dangerous out of all proportion to its mere numerical strength.

13. In Germany—and only in Germany—there are many people with a genuine hatred against the

1 It is possible to put other interpreta- ons on the Soviet government's behavior this point. E.g., Western atomic arma- ents may temporarily act as a "deter- nt" as well as an irritant or provocation. he Kremlin may think that for the resent its plans can be more effectively dvanced by refraining from direct mili- ry attack on Western Europe. This ight not necessarily hold good in the ture. It may believe that its *relative* osition vis-a-vis the West may improve ith time. Nevertheless, there are two oints here that it is important for Amer- ans to weigh if they are to understand e situation in Western Europe and espe- ally the mind of the people of Western ermany: 1. It is a fact that during re- nt years, while American propagandists ave contended that Western Europe lay ide open to Russian attack, that attack as not occurred. 2. This *fact*, regardless what accounts for it, is bound to eigh heavily in the calculations and ac- ons of Germans and other Western uropeans. Ed.

2 "People's Police" is the title of a force hich has been at least partly armed nder and by the Russian Occupation and alleged to be the nucleus of the future ast German army. Ed.

3 Militarists have perhaps cloaked their activities in the garb of peace propaganda oftener than our correspondent allows for. But again, two considerations must be faced by Americans: 1. A constant stream of admittedly effective peace propaganda issues from Soviet and Communist sources. 2. Whether that propaganda is sincere or not, it exercises a deep influence on Europeans who have experienced the nameless horrors of two World Wars. That influence is all the greater because United States propaganda in Western Europe continuously and heavily emphasizes rearmament, which spells war to Europeans. Ed.

Russians. The sons of ten million refugees from the East, to whom the Bonn government in a reckless way is beginning to promise that they will some day be back in their homes (by means of a defensive war?) will be the first to join the army. They are of an aggressive mood, and the Russians know it.

14. Last but not least: German rearmament would not only mean remilitarization, but inevitably also renazification. Reasonable young Germans do not today want to go into the army. But all those who have still the virus of Hitlerism within, will flock to it. We see it already, since the Bonn government began to make propaganda for remilitarization. The former Nazis, modest for a while, are once more as arrogant as they used to be. They think the world needs them—and the American and British occupation forces (not the French) do all they can to convince them that it does! Once already the army killed a democracy in Germany—the Weimar Republic. A new army would be able to do the same in far less time than it took to wreck that republic.

## LETTERS TO GERMANY

The struggle against the remilitarization of Germany must be carried on on both sides of the Atlantic. We in the United States can write to our State Department and to our representatives in Congress, making it known to them that we favor continued efforts to discuss issues with the Russian government, and urge a positive program aiming at the welfare of all peoples and a statesmanship of reconciliation rather than arms competition.

But peace-minded people must also help and sustain each other in the world-wide struggle for disarmament, and to promote this person-to-person contact the FOR has begun a *Letters to Germany* project, to encourage people in this country to write to those in Germany urging them to continue their struggle againt rearmament, and pledging in turn that we in the United States will strive against militarism here and to persuade our government to abandon its pressure on Germany to rearm. Letters from draft-age youth to draft-age youth will be especially effective. The campaign is being pushed in Germany by the author of Letter from Berlin and others.

If you have friends and acquaintances in Germany, families to whom you have sent CARE packages in the past, for example, you can write them. If you do not have the names of people to whom to write, send to the FOR for them.

# The Crossing of Boundaries

By JOHN OLIVER NELSON

A STUDY GROUP redefining "missionary" suggests he is "one ho crosses a boundary"—into a reign land, a yet unclaimed area f job life, a hostile terrain of soal life, and so forth. To be a misonary, they say, is to overstep.

By that token, the most obvious oundary the Church isn't crossing ese days is the East-West line hich cleaves all humanity. When osef Hromadka pled at Amsterm that God's will doesn't stop at e Iron Curtain, most delegates of e World Council of Churches olitely disagreed—and thus deded not to be "missionary" in that tuation. How many mission candates of our Western churches e studying Russian (as diploatic candidates are!), or how any Russians are being trained our seminaries? To cross that order means not being a "fellowaveler," ideologically, but being ven just a traveler at all.

A BOUNDARY of a different kind is that which still separates urchmanship from most creative t—while today's religious art conues to be stuffy or antiquarian, d irreligious art gropes its bohelian way toward symbols. Missionries must pack up and cross that ontier—pastors willing to pioneer contemporary church architecre, music committees eager for oughtful new forms, church hool editors commissioning fresh artistry in illustration and Christian symbolism.

Similar boundaries of social propriety hem the Christian in. Who dares break over and speak of Our Lord during a social call, on the beach, over the phone, to a new acquaintance? Fantastic! Under the plea that religion is a very personal matter indeed, or that talking about it is fanaticism or imperialism, we stay severely on the home grounds, crossing no boundaries. Possibly we are afraid to pass customs at the border: an inspection might show our handsome religious luggage to be packed only with air or with dutiable sentimentality.

Vocational borderlines are just as sacrosanct as social ones. One territory we mark "business," another "religion"—and let not the Christian in us step over into the territory of the rising businessman in us; this is a closed border! It takes a missionary, to preach silently and genially the Christian gospel of a-day's-work-for-a-day's-pay, of the possibility of urbane teetotalism at the boss's party, the full responsibility of the Christian for honesty or clean talk or good labor relations or theistic purpose on the assembly line.

IT IS these boundaries, and a hundred others, which keep Christians safe and silent at home, or send them on frightful bombing or strafing missions across the earth.

Outgoing Christian missionaries are needed as never before in Christendom.

"Missionary" of course comes from the Latin for "send," *mitto*. If we take the Gospel seriously, we do realize that we are sent, to cross boundaries such as the Church has faced in every century before us. Border-raids of compassion, imperialism of the Cross, infiltration by agents of justice and redemption—these make Christian missionaries in a world whose barbed-wire only the power of God can trample down.

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## Poem

*Almighty Love*
*Father of eternal day*
*Master of the broken glass and cut fingers*
*Lord of scraped knees and bumped elbows*
*We the children with broken souls*
*Come to have our fears Loved away*
*To have our bruises healed*
*Come asking for other boys and girls*
*The stop of rotting war's decay*
*The mending of broken lives*
*And if you will*
*We shall shed our blood*
*And let it flow for them*
*To Know Your Love.*

—Robert Schaeffer

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## Nostra Culpa

*Good food on the table and candle light,*
*The fire's warmth when the sun is setting.*
*Do we share with our fellows in dark and night?*
*We try. We try but we keep forgetting.*

*For the strongest of us is all too frail,*
*With faults too many for vain regretting.*
*Our love for our neighbor should never fail,*
*We know. We know but we keep forgetting.*

*Oh Thou who hast walked in the perfect way,*
*May we live for giving instead of getting.*
*Forsake us not as we strive each day*
*To follow thee—though we keep forgetting.*

—Philip C. Gifford

**rom France comes news of an xciting new experiment in living—**

# The Community of Work

By CLAIRE HUCHET BISHOP

HIS IS NO NEW APPLICATION of Saint-Simon's or Fourier's eories. This is not utopia put into actice. It did not come out of a ook, nor did it stem from an eology. It originated from a need, necessity. It started to develop in e midst of defeat, invasion, great ysical want, and, above all, utter iritual despair.

Neither was it the work of one an, a leader. True, at the start ere was a man, a manual worker, watch-case maker, who had been ssatisfied with his life for a long me. However, his stroke of genius as precisely that he felt that if he ere to find a better way of life he uld not do it alone. Other work-s had to carry on the search with m. Before 1940 Marcel Barbu had t found anyone, save his wife, illing to start on that quest. Most the workers were satisfied with mediate material gains: a raise salary, paid vacations, and so on. nd the restless ones were waiting r somebody else to change the hole economic structure.

In 1940, industrial workers were against it: France was invaded, efeated and occupied. It was evi-ent that something was basically rong with the previous way of fe or else it would not have col-psed in such a fashion. Another ay had to be found, or else life ould not be worth living for the orkers, it would be just existing. And so it came to pass that half a dozen men, in unoccupied France, uneducated young chaps, agreed to learn watch-case making with Marcel Barbu *and* to search with him for a "way of life where the distinction between employer and employee will have vanished."

This was the origin of the attitude: Not to decide offhand that it was wrong to have a distinction, not to decree arbitrarily that the distinction be done away with, not even to make a blueprint of the ideal conditions to secure, but to search for a way of life where the distinction would, of itself, have vanished. Later, looking back on their first move and what came out of it, namely the Community of Work, they said that their communitarian setup was "born out of the revolt of proletarians, meditating on their own suffering." The story of their adventure reads like fiction and sometimes even like a fairy tale. It is all so simple, those daily discoveries of the group, that one wonders why no one thought of it before quite in that way. Step by step it unfolds.

First the discovery that in order to carry out the search, they had to be wholly free to give each other a piece of their own mind, and that included the boss Barbu who had brought them together. How they feasted on that new-gained freedom up to the point of getting mentally drunk with it, and so, next, came to decide to set time

aside once a week to thrash out all their grievances together.

Then how their desire to be educated, (to learn how to sing, at the beginning), led them to speed up production and use the extra time for taking lessons.

How, having turned out in a shorter time the set number of watch-cases necessary for their livelihood, and receiving the same amount of money, they found themselves paid for educating themselves.

## Whole Men

In doing this they ceased to look upon themselves simply as producers of goods. Their own social value was being remunerated, so their value as men was their total human value, producers plus social value. It followed, then, that work was *all* human activities, and not only the making of objects.

Many more fascinating details which are beyond the scope of this article can be found in my book *All Things Common.** I should like to mention here their discovery of the practical necessity of a common ethical minimum, which they succeeded in formulating unanimously. They pledged themselves to it, and it worked and still works, though they were, and are, a thorough mixed group: Protestants, Catholics, Jews, atheists, Communists, materialists, humanists.

Another of their discoveries was the necessity of unanimous decision. They had never heard of the Quaker way, but they found that only if all of them, without exception, were satisfied, could they reach real solutions. It was no use deciding on a majority vote. It was an imposition that bred discontent. Besides, the lonely one who had made a counter-proposition might indeed be right against all the others. So it was better to re-examine the question.

## Unanimous Consent

Unanimity could not be secured in General Assembly, where it was bound to be artificial and even totalitarian. It had to be prepared among small groups. The men, together with the families of those who were married, lived anywhere in the town of Valence. Sometimes their homes were not far from each other. Let those who were neighbors get together, every week, the whole families, at the home of one of them, and there, at night, around a cup of ersatz coffee, let everything pertaining to the Community be discussed and unanimity prepared. And so the Neighbor Group was born, backbone of the communitarian industrial setup.

Thus gradually, they were acceding to their full dignity as human beings and the distinction between the employer and the employee was vanishing.

In 1943 they all decided that they had sufficiently matured to own their means of production. Barbu simply turned the plant over to the Community. An evaluation was made of his initial capital, which was to be reimbursed to him together with some machines, if he ever wanted to leave the Community. Unanimously they elected him Chief of the Community.

The means of production were owned by the Community. There were no shares. Property was indivisible. In case of dissolution funds would not revert to members

*All Things Common*, by Claire Huchet Bishop. Harper, 1951.

ut to any other group trying to uild a similar way of life.

There were no salaried workers xcept temporarily as novitiates.

No one could belong to the Comunity and not work in it.

Profit was used either to improve orking conditions—a new, more erfected machine only meant ore paid educational time for verybody—or for bettering leisure onditions.

Money had ceased to make oney. In the new setup, capitalism ad simply dissolved.

Saving was collective.

Everybody was remunerated on is total human value—professonal value plus social value. This ncluded housewives at home and ne children.

They also limited themselves as o their material success. Extra oney would be used to help other ommunities start. The aim was not o get rich or comfortable collectively. The goal was the liberation of the working man.

All responsible posts were elective (by unanimous consent) through a system of double trust, the candidacy being proposed by one of the Community's strata and accepted by the other, in order to prevent both demagogy and authoritarianism.

There was a Court elected by the General Assembly. The Court did not judge the fault, but the man. Therefore, the same fault might bring different verdicts according to the culprit. Verdict was rendered on unanimous agreement: judges and culprit alike.

But no matter how fine their new way of life seemed to be, they remained keenly aware of the rest of the world. Members of the Resistance, most of them, they put up a stiff fight with the Germans and saw their factory burned. Some of them were sent to Buchenwald, and

## COMMUNITY BUILDERS

*Increasing numbers of pacifists are becoming interested in the "intentional community"—the establishment of one form or another of cooperative living arrangements by a like-minded group of people. Only in this way, say those who are most deeply concerned, can the pacifist concern for individual personality be implemented.*

*With this issue* FELLOWSHIP *begins a series of articles about some of the many communities that have been established on some such basis. The communities vary widely in form and philosophy, from the all-pacifist Riverside Community in New Zealand to the all-embracing "communities of work" in Europe.*

*Out of six years of personal experience in building a cooperative community, including what seem like thousands of conversations with the theoreticians on the subject, the editor of* FELLOWSHIP *has come up with only one wry, but absolute, condition: Only going projects, that have demonstrated themselves to be something more than someone's pet dreams, will be written up in this series. There are plenty of these, though, and we anticipate some interesting articles.*

some did not come back: the firing squad, torture, or starvation was their lot.

When Valence was liberated by the Americans those members who had remained hidden and had survived came back and rebuilt their factory. But the same openness toward the rest of the world remained, and up to now it has always prevailed. They have not built a paradisaical select ghetto. They remain integrated and more forcefully so than ever in city matters, unions, in their churches or in their parties.

## The Idea Spread

When their example became known throughout France, other workers and a few owners wanted to do the same. As a matter of fact some French people had already tried to build along communitarian lines without knowing about the experiment of Boimondau watch-casers. The thought, so to speak, was in the air. Many communities were started between 1945 and 1948. Of all the try-outs about 50 remain today. Their economic expressions are very varied: practically all the trades are represented. Sizes vary too, from 6 to 100 families. Most communities are industrial.

The formula originally worked out for industrial means of livelihood seems to be able to meet outside adverse conditions successfully, for in 1948 during the French national economic crisis the communitarian setup fared better than capitalist enterprises.

The Communities of Work remain mixed groups in which it may happen that one allegiance is more pronounced than others but, up to now, I do not know of one Community of Work where selection is exclusive. Among the members of some communities can be found conscientious objectors. As far as actual new developments are concerned, it seems that the days when one could start a Community out of nothing are gone, at least temporarily. The communitarian movement is progressing now in France along what is called transformations. That is, successful capitalist firms gradually transform to a communitarian setup.

I expect the American reader to wonder what in the world could make a successful owner, or shareholders for that matter, want to transform their firm. There are many practical reasons which do not stem from ideology.

In France the restlessness of the working class is great. There are a few owners who cannot believe that even liberal capitalism is the answer because, usually, they are precisely among the few French capitalists who have already tried it. They have come to understand what the handful of watch-casers started to discover in 1940: that it is the whole way of life that is wrong, that it goes far beyond getting material comfort, though material comfort there should be. That what the French working man is after, even unconsciously, is his birthright as a human being. Like owners who freed their slaves in America even before slavery was abolished, those French industrial owners understand what is in the heart of men. They also can read history and remember that the lords who abandoned feudalism in the Fifteenth Century were those who understood that an epoch had terminated. It would be wrong to think that this cool and reasoned-out view of the situation involves calculation on their part. They are

not trying to save themselves eventually; they are in fact, on the whole, quite without illusion regarding their possible personal fate and completely devoid of bitterness. Anyhow, happen what may, they are having the time of their lives in transforming to a communitarian setup, and no amount of profit could induce them to go back to old methods. They are having too much fun. To their pioneering mind the very difficulties but serve to heighten the intensity of living.

Difficulties there are indeed and of all sorts, and often where one might least expect them. It took Barbu over ten years to find a few men who truly wanted to work out their own salvation. Today, in France, it is a bit easier. However, there always remains the mentality that prefers to be looked after and have material security, even plentifulness, instead of shouldering the responsibilities of one's own development which lead to full maturity.

That is what the communitarian movement in France is today: a search and an educational movement. It is not trying to spread artificially, it does not believe itself to be the answer to all the ills of the world, nor an alternative to another mode of action. Undogmatic, open to all, unpretentious, grounded in the sense of man and his measure, it is an act. Born out of a need, an emergency, it stands now in our industrial world as a proven and living demonstration of a way of life different from what is known in the western civilization. Were it to collapse tomorrow, it still would stand for us as the evidence of what is possible.

### New Way of Life

Whether or not we are conscious of it in the United States, a groping for a new way of life, where cooperation will replace competition, that which in the words of atomic scientists themselves is our only chance of survival, is felt practically all over the world, in one form or another. The French communitarian movement is part of this universal and active search through which men of the age of atomic disintegration are trying to discover how to fulfil integration and fellowship.

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## *For Conscience*

*For conscience Socrates*
*Taught Athens' youth, and did not please*
*The guardians of the state. He drank*
*The fatal cup, nor from it shrank.*

*For conscience Jesus too*
*Withstood the ruling powers to do*
*His Heavenly Father's will. He died*
*With thieves, in triumph crucified.*

*For conscience men today,*
*Combating war's barbaric sway,*
*Resist the State. They will not kill.*
*Is God's or man's the higher will?*

—Georgia Harkness

HERE IS A REPORT FROM ONE OF THE FEW WESTERNERS WHO HAVE RECENTLY SEEN

# *Russia Through the Naked Eye*

By PAUL CADBURY

WE WENT TO RUSSIA under a deep sense of concern to do what we could to lessen tension, but we had no exaggerated ideas of our importance. We were a group of quite ordinary people. Leslie Metcalf, Chairman of the East-West Relations Committee of Friends in England, is an engineer. Twenty-five years ago he helped to erect one of the first great electric stations in Russia. He is now chief engineer of the Coal Board in England. Kathleen Lonsdale, the most distinguished member of our group, is professor of chemistry at London University, a Fellow of the Royal Society, and a scientist with an international reputation. Gerald Bailey is a writer and was for 19 years the director of the very old established British Peace Council which is largely based on the churches. He was probably the most skillful member of the party in dealing with diplomatic problems. We four were members of the Friends East-West Relations Committee and had studied together the problems of East-West tension at weekend conferences.

There were three other members of our delegation to Russia: Margaret Backhouse, who was for some years chairman of the English Friends Service Council; Mildred Creak, who is a doctor and a specialist in child psychology; and Frank Edmead, a youngish journalist whom I knew as a member of the Friends Ambulance Unit during the war, and who is with the *Manchester Guardian*.

### A Quakerly Journey

*Last summer, without tooting any horns, seven English Quakers went to visit Russia and see what it was like inside. Their traditionally retiring attitude did not prevent a flurry of publicity in newspapers throughout the world, but the travelers, when they returned home, performed the difficult feat of reporting on what they had seen, heard and done without saying anything that partisans either pro or con Russia could turn into sensationalism. Here is what Paul Cadbury, head of the venerable English firm of Cadbury Chocolates, reported.*

We set out with two main objectives. One was to try and find out as much as possible about conditions as they are today in Russia, and to try and understand the problems of East-West tension from the Russian point of view. The second was, as opportunity offered, to point out to them how they and their government, or things that they and their government were doing, were increasing tension, or things they could do to lessen tension. From the very outset, even before we went, we made it clear that we were an independent group representing the Society of Friends. In no sense were we a group of

"yes men." They knew, even before we went, why we could not sign the Stockholm appeal, why we did not agree with many of the tenets of their Soviet peace committee, or the World Peace Committee. We were critical of their propaganda. We were critical of the way in which they interfered in the affairs of the non-Communist countries.

## Frankness on Both Sides

From the outset we were received with the greatest openness and frankness, not only by important people, but by quite simple people with whom we obviously did not agree but who seemed to appreciate the frank, open way in which we spoke the truth as we knew it. We did not know what our agenda would be day by day. We asked to see certain things, and they did their utmost to show us the things we wanted to see, and to let us meet the people we wanted to meet. We did not ask for the impossible, but we did ask some quite odd things. For instance, Leslie Metcalf asked to go down a coal mine. I asked to see a chocolate factory. Kathleen Lonsdale, who is a prison visitor in England, asked to see a prison. And in each case our requests were acceded to, and we did see these things. Speaking from my own experience at the chocolate factory, I was more impressed that it wasn't a showplace than if it had been one. Although the factory was spotlessly clean, it was technically a long way behind our own practice.

In the course of our efforts to see as much as we could of Russia we saw churches, museums, factories. We saw a collective farm, and going around in Moscow, in Kiev, and in Leningrad, we saw housing projects. We met quite a lot of ordinary people on these visits. In addition, we met the leaders of the churches, and I would like to say here that not only did we meet the leaders of the Baptist Church, and of the Orthodox Church, but on one of the first evenings we were there, we attended a most remarkable service in the great Baptist Church in Moscow. In a church that can seat 1500, with side galleries down each side, and a big gallery at the end, there were at that week-night service—they did not know that we were coming—about 1800 people. For an hour we took part in a simple, nonconformist service in which together, in spite of differences of language, we worshipped God, we sang well-known hymns, we heard a reading from the Bible, and a prayer. And then Leslie Metcalf, who speaks a fair amount of Russian, addressed this great gathering, giving them the message of good will to all men that was approved by London Yearly Meeting in 1950, and of which a Russian translation was available. He finished by referring to the only text inscribed on the wall in this very simple church, *God is love*. He then brought us all to our feet for two or three minutes of complete silence. And as I wrote in my diary that night, never before, and perhaps never again, shall I be so conscious of the presence of the living God.

We also took part in two services of the Orthodox Church. The next day we went down to the great monastery at Zagorsk where between twenty and twenty-five thousand people were milling about in the great campus, with its eleven beautiful churches with their blue

and gold onion domes. St. Sergei's Day was being celebrated by patriarchs from three or four countries, by metropolitans, archemandrites, archbishops and bishops in the most gorgeous processions. I must admit that I stood in silence for an hour in the great cathedral amidst a milling throng—there must have been at least 7,000 people standing in a solid mass (they do not have seats in Orthodox churches)—and watched and listened to a gorgeous service. Since then I have read the Russian liturgy and realize that the words were mostly the simple words of the Bible, but I must admit in all honesty that Friends' Meeting is no training ground for appreciation of the splendor of the Russian Orthodox service.

### Role of the Church

Friends here should know that there is real freedom to worship in Russia today, but I would say that it is freedom within a pretty narrow limit. I think that if worship led the worshippers to take a view contrary to the view of the state, it would be impossible to continue. We also knew, or found out, that there are no Sunday schools. Nevertheless, I think it is important that we should realize that this freedom to worship God does exist.

We saw the minister of education for the Russian Republic. We saw the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Chamber of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet, with one of his colleagues who was also a deputy. We spent an afternoon at the headquarters of the International Section of the Trade Unions and heard about their wages-methods and their schemes for Social Security. We met two editors of important papers. Kathleen Lonsdale had a reception at the Academy of Science, where they asked her to speak about Quakerism. I had a morning at the section of the Academy which deals with town and country planning. And finally, we had the long, three-and-a-half-hour interview with the Deputy Foreign Minister, Jacob Malik, in which we put to him the seven points which I think have been quoted freely in the American papers. These dealt with such problems as restraining hostile propaganda. There is a lot of very severe propaganda in Russia against the West. We asked for an opening up both ways for visits and correspondence. We asked for pledges of non-intervention in non-Communist countries in return for an undertaking from the West that there would be no intervention in Communist countries. We raised the whole problem of disarmament. We raised the problem of joint action through the United Nations to aid backward countries. We raised the problem of countries not at present members of the UN being admitted, and finally pressed the need for discussions aimed at reducing East-West tension. I do not propose to say more about that—his replies have been fairly fully quoted. Observers in Moscow, such as American and English correspondents, and our own ambassador, and others, feel that the importance of the interview was not so much its material as the fact that Mr. Malik used a small group of peaceloving, independent people to put out to the world his answers.

There are three things that these visits and these contacts have taught us. The first is—and this seems to surprise American audiences—that the standard of living

of the ordinary people in Russia today is comparable, perhaps not exactly the same, but in the same bracket as the standard of living in England—they are well fed, well clothed, satisfied and content with the country in which they live. The second point that I want to emphasize is that they are entirely ignorant of conditions of the ordinary people in the West. To them conditions in England have been made to appear as very hard, and similar to those of which Charles Dickens was writing a hundred years ago. They think that conditions are as he described them in *Oliver Twist* or *David Copperfield.*

## They Seem Happy

I find that there is a good deal of ignorance in America about conditions as they are in Russia. Several people have asked me, "Did you see anyone smile?" It made me smile to be asked that question because quite unlike the conditions in Germany before the war, or even as I noticed them in going through Czechoslovakia on our way out to Moscow, people in Russia seem happy. I think that the reason is this: They measure everything by their own past. I met a very beautiful silver-haired school mistress way out on a farm in the Ukraine—a farm, by the way, where the resident population is 6,000—a great big collective farm of five or six villages. She said to me that in this area before the Revolution, that is, before 1917, less than ten percent of the people could read and write. Today everyone can read and write. "And from this farm alone, more than two hundred young people have gone out into the world as doctors and professional people." She added with a twinkle, "Although we are a thousand kilometers from the sea, we have produced one admiral."

## By Comparison

I think it is important that Friends and others should realize that though conditions in Russia, by comparison with your high standards in this country, are hard, nevertheless, I come from a contented country where our standard of living is lower than yours, and the standard in Russia is comparable to ours in England. They have their overcrowding problems; they probably grumble as you and I do; but they are conscious of a freedom —they use the word continuously— a freedom which by comparison with their own past is quite considerable. Russia has never been a free country in our sense. Nevertheless, they continually said: "But we are so free, we can criticize, and we have the economic freedom that we had not in the past." It is no good trying to talk to people whose language in the ordinary sense you do not know, and who also just do not understand what you are talking about.

As I shall say later on, this is a long-term job; we must not assume that we are dealing with a people who are other than reasonably well fed, reasonably clothed, and who are very proud of their country.

The third point that struck us was also a matter of ignorance—and one that is causing people in Russia very grave fear and concern. Everyone in the world, on my assumption, wants peace, but we go about it in different ways. And believe me, the people in Russia want peace desperately. They have suffered what America has not suffered—a devastating war in their country

within very recent years. But they think, they believe, they have been told, partly by their own propaganda, partly (dare I say it) by articles in American newspapers, that American business wants war, or near war, for the profits it brings and for the easy and steady good times that it brings. They believe it because they have been told it and because you say it. But they believe it for another reason. We were struck by how greatly the money urge has come into the U.S.S.R. When we met the trade unions they said, "This is not an egalitarian country, we do not believe in that. Every job here has its piece rate, every piece rate has its prize, or extra bonus."

## Incentive Pay

Everything is based on productivity. I know a good deal about piece rates. I think, judging by what I saw in one or two factories, they know a great deal about productivity inducements. The fact is, everyone is concerned with money. What is more, there is a new well-to-do class, a class of professors and directors of factories and senior civil servants. All these important people in Russia are getting eight and ten times as much in money as the people at the ordinary jobs. You may take it that you can live on about 500 rubles a month at a minimum standard of comfort. A university professor gets 6,000 rubles a month. I think that the upper management in industry gets quite as much. Anyhow, there are a very large number of people with their motor cars, their little country dachas, probably in the main quite simple, but nevertheless a second house, and their apartments in the cities. The shops in Moscow and Kiev show plenty of expensive luxury goods. People do not seem to be jealous of their well-to-do class. They have not inherited wealth; they are people who have gone to the top by their own ability —a field marshal's baton in every private's knapsack.

Those are the things that struck us. But what can we do? The first thing we must do unquestionably is to be better Christians and better democrats ourselves. If we think, and we do think, that we have a better way, a better system, we must be quite sure that we make that system work well; that when we talk about freedom it is real freedom.

The second thing is that while we must fearlessly reject, as we did, what we think wrong, we must be prepared to acknowledge what is good, and I think particularly of the solid progress that Russia has made since the devastating war, and the extraordinary development from an agricultural to an industrial country with a higher standard of living than it has ever known in the past.

## As Others See Us

Thirdly, we must not do what we accuse them of doing. I assure you that when you go through the "iron curtain" as we did, it looks to Russian eyes as though it is the West that is hanging up the iron curtain. Every time we refuse permission for some Russian scientist or other person to come to England or America, that news is publicized very fully. Just before we were there, Glasgow University had its fifth centenary, and distinguished scientists were invited from Russia to attend the celebrations. Their permission to attend was refused by the British government. Finally,

one visa was granted, but too late to be effective. This hit our friends in Russia very hard indeed; and to put it mildly, when we said that they were shutting their frontiers against people coming from the West, we were challenged with hypocrisy as we were shutting our frontiers to people who were coming from the East.

## Encourage Good Faith

Finally, I think we must be very careful not to discount the peace speeches, the peace gestures, that are coming out of the East. Just after we got back, Marshal Svernik made a speech which was pacific, at any rate in words. Almost before the ink was dry on the teleprinters, an official spokesman in Washington and an official spokesman in London said, "This is just propaganda." That is a very foolish thing to do, because it is making a stick with which to beat our own backs. If every time they make some pacific approach, we turn it down out of hand, they retort, "You don't even want us to talk about an alternative to war." I recognize that all governments have been clumsy, but in particular I recognize that the Russian government has been extremely clumsy; has given great provocation to the West during the last four or five years. Again and again the Russians seem to have done the wrong thing at the wrong moment. But that is no excuse for us to deny, those of us who hold the Christian belief, the fact that we have a duty to be forgiving and understanding and to try again.

When we were in Russia, we saw a good deal of a very eminent Oriental diplomat, Dr. Radhakrishnan, the Indian Ambassador in Moscow, and it was his opinion that there was a change in the climate. If there is a change in the climate, if Russia does want to feel through towards a better understanding, we have a great duty to be forthcoming in the West. The people of the West are so disbelieving of the sincerity of the people of the East, and the people of the East are so disbelieving of the sincerity of the people of the West, that unless we can think of some real gesture of peacemaking that counts, that can be seen and felt, I despair of getting the pressure down. The gesture that I personally have compared it with, in the field of war, is perhaps a little unfortunate. I think an American audience will understand if I say that if we can find something in the field of peace comparable to the Churchill-Roosevelt agreement on bases and destroyers before America came into the war, an agreement that needed no speeches but which people understood, and we could start making exchanges of that sort between the West and Russia, then I believe we could really begin to hope for an easing of the tension.

Four things have occurred to me. One of them is an act that Russia herself could perform and which would in England have an enormous effect. During the war some few Englishmen married Russian wives. The Russian government has prevented those wives from coming back to their husbands. This has become a matter of international diplomatic action at the very highest level; ambassadors have spent hours trying to reach a solution. If the Russian government could put those sixteen women in an airplane —I was going to say whether they wanted to go or not—and send them to England, there would be

such a wave of good feeling engendered that it would be better than a hundred speeches.

If Russia and the West could agree upon the Austrian treaty, I believe that there is a wonderful opportunity for improving our relationships. If Russia and the West could forget the differences and get a cease-fire in Korea, that would be a moment pregnant with opportunity.

### Fear of Germany

Finally, I believe there is something we ought to think about very carefully before it is too late: Russia is intensely frightened of a rearmed Germany. It is my opinion that nothing is more likely to precipitate an early war than the real belief that Germany will again become a great military power. That is something that the West could trade in at this moment in return for freeing the whole of Germany from any sort of foreign control.

I have been in the United States many times. I am conscious on this visit of a dangerous and surprising atmosphere, dare I say an atmosphere of fear—not a fear that you will be conquered, or fear of an enemy—but fear of something unknown. A great observer of the American people, an Englishman, said to me recently, "Give the Americans time, and they have the instinct for doing the right thing. What I am frightened of is—have we got time?"

We all have a great responsibility. This thing is not going to solve itself quickly. It may be ten years before we can look with confidence to the political international field. Many times in the next few years, both East and West will say the wrong thing and do the wrong thing. We, in my opinion, have a responsibility as a steadying influence. We must not be panicked by the present unnatural tides and pulls in the world.

Every day in Russia we were conscious of God's guidance, step by step. We did not know whom we should meet. We had to rely on the inspiration of the moment in what we said. I believe we shall only succeed in our struggle for peace if we are willing to submit ourselves to God's guidance.

*An address delivered at Swarthmore College, reprinted by permission of the American Friends Service Committee.*

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### Prayer of Intercession

*Father of our souls and of all souls on this earth, into the light of Thy compassion we bring the President of this country and the leaders of all other lands. They are now brooding over decisions fateful for the human race. Wilt Thou make thy presence known to them. May Thy will as shown to us in Christ be done through them. Enable them and us to forgive and be forgiven, Deliver them and us from the evil of making war. . . . And now we bring to Thee our concern for persons close to us, in confidence that Thy power to meet their needs is already lovingly at work. For their sake we seek understanding and purity of heart.*

—Allan A. Hunter

# News from the Peace Front

## U.M.T. Not Permanently Defeated

In early March the anti-UMT forces, including many church, farm, educational and pacifist groups, rejoiced when a bill to put UMT through was sent back to committee, preventing it from coming to a vote in the House of Representatives. This represented a very significant victory, especially in view of the fact that proponents of the bill announced that they would not attempt to reintroduce such legislation in this session of Congress.

However, rejoicing was short-lived. Before two weeks had passed, the newspapers reported that Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn, and Rep. Carl Vinson of Georgia, who had vigorously pushed the bill, were considering the introduction of a new UMT bill as soon as possible in the present session, with some modifications which they hoped would swing enough votes over to their side to make passage much more likely.

One of the factors influencing their change of heart, the papers reported, was that mail to Congressmen on the issue of UMT, which had been running heavily against it while the issue was up in Congress, had changed as soon as the bill was recommitted, and was running heavily in favor. This would seem to indicate that opponents of the measure felt their job was done and stopped working on it, while those in favor, disappointed by what had happened, were moved to write. This situation, as well as the fact that the trend is toward militarization and opponents of it must make up their minds that this is not an issue in which one big push will solve the problem but one requiring continuous and long-range educational work, should arouse pacifists and other anti-conscription groups to planning a program that will not be effective only at the last moment when a particular bill is facing us.

In addition to planning some concessions in the new bill, such as providing that it will not go into effect until Selective Service expires, Speaker Rayburn and the Democratic whips were calling in each Democrat who voted for recommittal in an effort to change his vote. It is obvious that considerable pressure from various sources will be brought to bear, and that anti-UMT groups will have a job to keep it from being all against them.

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## La Maison for Groups and Conferences

La Maison de la Reconciliation, André Trocmé's headquarters in Versailles for the work of the European FOR, welcomes groups for conferences of various kinds. During the spring and summer the accommodations cost $3 for dormitory space and all meals per person per day, or $4 for a single room and meals per day. La Maison contains meeting rooms and a meditation room, as well as living quarters, and is only a half hour by train from the center of Paris.

## Alternative Service Regulations Issued

After considerable delay, regulations have been issued as to the assignment of COs classified I-O to civilian work by their draft boards. This is supposed to be work "contributing to the maintenance of the national health, safety, or interest," and is to be for a period of 24 consecutive months.

According to the regulations, the work is to be limited to employment by a government agency; or "employment by a non-profit organization, association, or corporation which is primarily engaged either in a charitable activity conducted for the benefit of the general public or in carrying out a program for the improvement of the public health or welfare, including educational and scientific activities in support thereof, when such activity or program is not principally for the benefit of the members of such organization, association, or corporation, or for increasing the membership thereof." COs classified I-O or who have applied for that classification may volunteer before being called for work under these provisions.

Within ten days of the mailing to him of I-O classification by the board, or within ten days of refusing to report for a physical examination (which should be only on conscientious grounds), the CO must submit to the local board three types of civilian work, as defined above, that he is qualified to do and will do. If the local board OKs one of them, it will order him into such work when he comes up in the regular induction order, just as if he were classified I-A or I-A-O. If the CO fails to submit suggestions for work, or if the board fails to approve of any of those he does submit, the local board will submit to the CO by letter three types of work that it would approve. Within ten days after the letter is mailed to him (*not* ten days after he receives it), the CO must file with the local board a statement that he accepts one or more of these suggestions, or that he does not accept any of them. In the latter case the State Director of Selective Service or his representative shall meet with the local board and the CO to try to help them to reach an agreement on some assignment. If this fails, the local board is empowered to order the CO into work it considers appropriate, with the approval of the State Director. If he fails to comply with the order, the CO may be prosecuted.

Only if the local board deems work in the CO's home community to be especially important will he be allowed to remain there. The implication is that in most cases COs will be assigned away from home, as they were during the war. Travel expenses from home to the location of the work assigned and back are to be provided by Selective Service.

There is no provision in the regulations for appeal from the assignment the local board finally makes, either at the time or at any time during the 24 months of service. Only if the job ceases to exist or if the CO is fired may he change his job. The Director of Selective Service may discharge him by reason of physical or mental incapacity or undue hardship to a dependent.

In connection with the purely physical routine of sending papers back and forth, the regulations indicate that work outside the United States may be acceptable to Selective Service. This is not a positive

approval of such work, but an indication that it may be approved if applied for.

The Central Committee for COs calls attention to some pertinent points:

The complicated routine for selecting the work to be performed may strain the patience of draft boards and result in arbitrary and unsatisfactory decisions;

No credit toward the 24 months is given for previous service in CPS;

No provision is made for correlating assignments with men's skills and abilities. It will depend purely on the attitude of the local board.

How these regulations are interpreted in practice will make all the difference in their satisfactoriness from the pacifist point of view. If the jobs approved are of a type that appears valuable and interesting, and if supervision by Selective Service is not repressive, most pacifists would probably feel the experience creative. If the jobs are restricted to manual labor in a narrow range of institutions, pacifist leaders believe there may be those, as there were in the CPS experience, who will find the experience frustrating and uncreative and may feel impelled to defy the law rather than submit to such an experience.

## Immigration Bill Would Bar COs

A new immigration bill sponsored by Senator Pat McCarran, who was responsible for the stringent one now in effect, would probably bar U. S. citizenship to COs of all kinds if it passes. A very slight change in the wording of the present bill would require the petitioner to swear "to bear arms on behalf of the United States when required by the law, *and* to perform noncombatant service in the armed forces of the United States when required by law, *and* to perform work of national importance under civilian direction when required by the law." The present law has the word "or" in the places where the new one has "and." The National Service Board for COs has been told by the planners of the bill that it would prevent the naturalization of COs.

## Chicago Site of Midwest FOR Conference

The Conference of the Midwest FOR will be held in Chicago on May 16-18, and will bring together members and friends of the Fellowship in the Midwest area for fellowship, inspiration and to help them in doing a better job when they get back to their local communities. It will be held at the First Presbyterian Church at Kimbark Avenue and 64th Street, just off the University of Chicago campus. The sessions will begin Friday evening with registration at 6:30 p.m. and the conference will end with Sunday morning worship with the congregation of First Presbyterian.

Bernard C. Clausen, well-known minister and FOR member of Cleveland, Ohio, will speak on "Why We Say No to War"; A. J. Muste will speak on "The Pacifist Witness in Wartime"; Mrs. Rosa Page Welch will lead group singing; and there will be other speakers and features, including a dinner without speeches and a pacifist party.

For information write to Albert G. Watson, Midwest FOR, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Illinois.

## Forty-One Refuse Income Taxes

Because they are conscientiously opposed to supporting war and military preparations, and because such a large proportion of Federal income is now spent for such purposes, forty-one men and women in the United States this year refused to pay their Federal income taxes. Attention was called to the fact that while the Federal budget has more than doubled in the past four years, less is now being spent on non-war activities than four years ago.

Signers of a statement on tax refusal included Anna and Winslow Ames, Marion and Ernest Bromley, Carolyn and Art Emery, Marion Frenyear, Walter Gormly, George Houser, Mary McDowell, A. J. Muste, Juanita and Wally Nelson, Jim and Paula Peck, Austin Regier, and Elizabeth and Ned Richards, among others.

## Coronet Films Not Sponsored by ACE

The American Council on Education made it clear recently that it did not in any way sponsor the Coronet Films on UMT. (The films, a series of 14, are very competently done, and have the effect of reconciling young men and their parents to conscription and the likelihood of war. The NCAC films opposing UMT were put out in part to combat their influence.)

According to the promotion for the Coronet Films, they were prepared "in consultation with the officers of the American Council on Education" and other organizations, giving the impression that these organizations had approved them. The ACE, in reply to inquiry, stated that staff members had acted as consultants to insure the factual accuracy of the films as to education, but the Council had requested Coronet Films that in future publicity it should be specifically stated that consultative organizations had no responsibility for them. A letter from the president of the Council emphasized that it did not endorse the films in any way. This letter also mentioned that it had been requested to act in this consultative capacity by the Department of Defense, which had been approached by Coronet Films.


*Mayor Shinzo Hamai, in a letter to*

**HOUSES FOR HIROSHIMA**

"Your contribution (to the reconstruction of the city) is the most substantial of any we have received. The people of Hiroshima appreciate your sincerity and goodwill."

**HOUSES FOR HIROSHIMA**

has undertaken its fourth year of relief and reconstruction work in the two atom blasted cities of Japan. An entire community of homes for widows with families has been built in Nagasaki and two similar communities built in Hiroshima.

This has all been possible because of your contributions.

Will you help us continue this work of building understanding and good will by building homes for the innocent victims of war?

*make checks payable to*

**HOUSES FOR HIROSHIMA**

Friends Center

3959 15th N.E.

Seattle 5, Washington

## Quakers Open India Pilot Project

A pilot project in social and technical assistance to underdeveloped areas will be launched by the AFSC in the Sambalpur district of Orissa, India. The project, which will take from five to ten years to complete, will be financed in part by a grant from the Technical Cooperation Administration of the State Department. Details are now being worked out in cooperation with the local government as well as with officials of the Indian government.

A private engineering firm, under contract from the Indian government, is undertaking a large-scale power and irrigation development in Orissa. The Quaker group hopes to help local villages prepare themselves for the changes which this project will bring about. Its work is expected to involve public health, sanitation, improved methods of agriculture and soil conservation, and encouragement of industry. Personnel for the program will include Indians as well as persons from foreign countries. It is hoped eventually to turn the entire project over to the Indians themselves.

## Laubach Reports on Trip to Asia

Dr. Frank Laubach, pioneer literacy expert and missionary, has recently returned from a seven-months' tour of Asia. He reports that there will be "a dozen or more Koreas" all over that continent unless the United States can win the loyalty of the masses of Asian peoples. He warned, "our everlasting advertisement of our terrible weapons is losing the cold war. . . . We are losing the masses of Asia and Africa because they read and hear only how we are using our money to make hydrogen bombs and jet fighters. This will not awe them into submission. It makes them hate us. It drives them towards the Communists."

Dr. Laubach recalled that he was in India during the Congressional debate here over giving or selling two million tons of grain to relieve the Indian famine. "We saw the fury of the people as they read what some of our foolish Congressmen said against India and Nehru. What saved the situation was the fact that while Congress tarried and waited and wrangled, the people of the United States sent almost as much foodstuff to India in shipload after shipload as Congress finally decided to sell."

## Unemployment Serious in West Germany

The unemployment situation in Western Germany is by far the worst the Germans of this area have ever experienced. They are finding the situation extremely galling since they feel it is uncalled for at a time when the high business activity induced by the Korean war and the rearmament program is at its height. They consider it to be induced by the Allies who are in occupation.

The German people are extremely vulnerable to Allied pressure in the matter of trade in coal. America compels the Germans to export a certain fixed quantity of coal—hundreds of thousands of tons which they need to operate their own industry. In order to run their factories at all they are compelled to import coal from the U. S. at a much higher price than they export it for.

# Jottings

The pacifist movement is growing rapidly in Scandinavian countries. The War Resisters International has doubled its membership within the year, and there are between fifteen hundred and two thousand conscientious objectors to war.

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Manilal Gandhi, who as leader of the Indian nonviolent movement has been in the province of Natal in South Africa for several months protesting the racial segregation acts of the government, has written a letter to the Prime Minister that echoes the spirit of his illustrious father. In his appeal to the official to re-examine the policies of his government in the light of Christ, he points out that in an effort to crush communism the government is driving the people to hatred and despair by its policy of *apartheid.*

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The New England Region of the American Friends Service Committee will hold its spring conference at Charles Street Meeting House in Boston, on April 18-20. Its theme is "Does Our Economic System Lead to War?" and the faculty will include Claire Huchet Bishop, Kenneth Boulding, A. J. Muste, Scott Nearing and Hans Christian Sonne.

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The CCCO reports that books can be contributed to prison libraries, new books preferably. Titles must be approved by the Bureau of Prisons, Washington, D. C., before books are shipped. The CCCO, 2006 Walnut Street, Philadelphia 3, is collecting money for this.

Alfred Hassler and John Swomley produced three highly successful 35 mm films for the National Council Against Conscription, for use in the fight against UMT. The FOR has now decided to go ahead with some film strips of its own, which will be in the hands of Al Hassler.

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Recent voting in the State of Wuerttemberg-Baden in Germany gave about 36 percent to the party of Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, who is pushing remilitarization; 28 percent to the Socialists, who have opposed it; and 18 percent to the Free Democrats, who have supported Adenauer. This represents a loss since the last election of support for the Socialists.

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Dorothy Maynor, well-known singer and an FOR member, appeared on Feburary 20 as guest soloist with the National Symphony Orchestra at Constitution Hall in Washington. The Hall is owned by the DAR, which previously refused to allow Negroes either as artists or in the audience. The DAR's ban on an appearance there by Marian Anderson in 1939 led to much publicity and the resignation of Mrs. Roosevelt from the DAR. All discrimination has now been eliminated, both in respect to artists and to the audience.

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An Army auditor recently told Congress that waste and kickbacks in the construction of Army air bases in North Africa have amounted to $50,000,000.

# Books

## The Scottsboro Boys

*They Shall Be Free,* Allan Knight Chalmers. Doubleday, 1951. 255 pp., $3.00.

The Scottsboro "Boys" had been imprisoned four years and eight months when the Scottsboro Defense Committee was organized in December, 1935. Early in the case, a jurisdictional dispute between the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Communist-controlled International Labor Defense (ILD) had been resolved in favor of the latter organization. The accused men were incarcerated in 1931, during one of the more sectarian phases of the world Communist movement, when the NAACP and similar organizations were being branded as "reformist" and "tools of the lynch-minded ruling class." But in the waning months of 1935 the United Front Against Fascism was taking form; and Stalin's American disciples were willing to share their "exclusive" rights in the Scottsboro defense with the League for Industrial Democracy, the American Civil Liberties Union, the (Episcopal) Church League for Industrial Democracy, and the NAACP. The Rev. Allan Knight Chalmers, then minister of the Broadway Tabernacle in New York, was selected to serve as non-voting chairman of the Committee on which the foregoing organizations and the ILD had representatives.

*They Shall Be Free* is an account of the stewardship of the Committee and particularly of Dr. Chalmers' key role in the efforts which eventually resulted in the freedom of the nine men, eight of whom had been sentenced to death. With his great gift for narrative, Dr. Chalmers gives us in turn a review of the events leading up to the Committee's formation, an introduction to the boys in their psychosocial setting, the author's successful venture in building up support for the defense among prominent Alabama whites, the years of hopes, despair, broken promises, and double-dealings on the part of Alabama public officials, and the ultimate freedom of the accused men. The book is sprinkled liberally throughout with comments on strategy and brief analyses of the various personalities who participated in one of the great socio-legal dramas of our day.

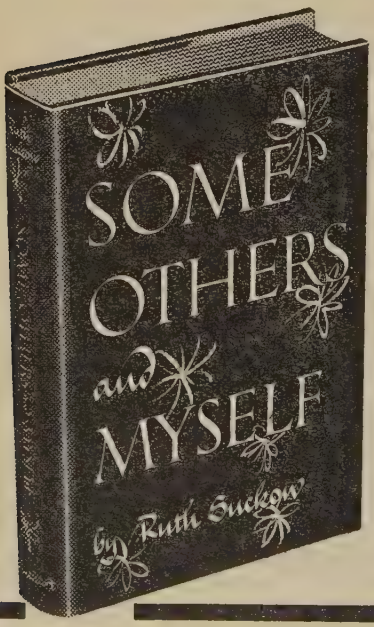
One of the most instructive phases of the struggle of the Scottsboro Defense Committee, as reported by Chalmers, was the organization and work of the Alabama Scottsboro Committee. This group of eminently respectable and respected white Alabama men was set up in order that their unquestioned reputations for integrity and their high prestige could be brought to bear on behalf of the freedom of the boys. As Chalmers points out, the Communists probably saved the lives of the men; but the very intensity of their campaign stirred up so much antagonism that it was

well-nigh impossible for the ILD to secure their release. It was hoped that the Alabama Committee could counteract the fact that the Scottsboro case had become identified as a Communist cause.

The reader is struck with the virtual impotence of otherwise highly respected Alabama white men as they sought to focus the cool light of reason on behalf of nine innocent Negro boys. One is also impressed with the quiet persistence with which these men cooperated with the Scottsboro Defense Committee to secure a measure of justice and bring meaning to the motto of Birmingham's Jefferson County Jail and Courthouse: EQUAL JUSTICE TO ALL OF WHATEVER STATE OR PERSUASION.

Organizational loyalty is a rarer commodity than loyalty to abstract principle or even concrete causes. A much rarer and more precious quality than either is faithfulness to the little men who are, in the final analysis, the reasons for the organizations, principles, and causes. *They Shall Be Free* documents Allan Knight Chalmers' continuing concern for Hayward Patterson, Roy Wright, Andy Wright, Olen Montgomery, Willie Roberson, Clarence Norris, Charlie Weems, Ozi Powell, and Eugene Williams. This concern was expressed, not alone in the efforts spent in gaining their release; but in continuing correspondence, gifts, and the personal visits of an extremely busy man.


*Her first book in ten years*

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It is to the credit of those who worked so diligently that the affirmation of the book's title became a fact. It is the shame of all of us that the Scottsboro boys spent a collective total of over two centuries in jail for a crime that was never even committed. *They Shall Be Free* was a slogan often uttered during the Scottsboro campaign. If the Scottsboro boys ever heard this slogan, they must have sighed, How Long, O Lord? How Long?

—Charles R. Lawrence, Jr.

## A Prophetic Spirit

*The Best of Dick Sheppard.* Harper, 1951. 162 pp., $2.50.

In his excellent introduction to this volume, Dr. Halford E. Luccock calls Dick Sheppard "the most articulate and forthright pacifist of his time." This fact by no means sets limits to the appeal which *The Best of Dick Sheppard* should have. For here is an anthology, carefully selected and edited, of the written works of a man who, perhaps more than any other in his time, was literally consumed with the passion to make the Church the "Body of Christ" in the world.

Here is no smooth divine, no well-tailored ecclesiastic, but a prophetic spirit driven by a divine impatience to bring all the resources of the Church and its Gospel to the meeting of human need. He speaks to the conscience of the pacifist and nonpacifist alike, on the one hand warning against the pious hypocrisy that is forever displaying the whole armor of God while refusing to trust it in the evil day, and on the other giving short shrift to the naive and sometimes self-righteous pacifism that is forever getting in the way of its own triumph.

Over all it is a volume to restore lustre to the spiritual eye and to tone up a sluggish Churchmanship that has too long been content to feed upon the diet of dull wisdom. Unless you are fortunate enough to have all the written works of H. R. L. Sheppard in your library you will certainly be the richer for possessing it.

—Robert F. Weiskotten

## Books in Brief

*Answer to War,* by Millard Lind. Mennonite Publishing House, 1952. 143 pp., $1.75. Beginning with a report of how man is at war with God, the author tells us that God, Christ and the Church are the answer to war.

*Christ in Poetry,* compiled and edited by Thomas Curtis Clark and Hazel Davis Clark. Association Press, 1952. 412 pp., $3.49. A collection of poems by many different poets, about Christ, arranged to follow his life.

*The Story of Gandhi,* by Krishna Nehru. Didier, 1950. 64 pp., $2.50. A biography of Mohandas Gandhi for juveniles, profusely illustrated. The author is a sister of India's Prime Minister, and a devoted follower of Gandhi.

*John Wesley's Journal,* as abridged by Nehemiah Curnock. The Philosophical Library, 1951. 433 pp., $3.75. The abridger has taken what he felt to be the more interesting parts of the original eight-volume journal, making no changes except the omissions.

*A Protestant Dictionary,* by Vergilius Ferm. The Philosophical Library, 1951. 283 pp., $5.00. A dictionary, from Abbot to Zwingli, of Protestant terms, movements, organizations and individuals, with a concise explanation or biography of each.

# Letters

## On Israel

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

John Swomley's otherwise excellent article on the Near East (October, 1951) calls for several comments.

To say that "when the Arabs were told to leave, whole Arab villages were wantonly blown up by Israel to prevent the return of these displaced persons," is true, but not the whole truth. The Arabs were told to leave, but by their own leaders and, indirectly, by the British. Both were confident that the Jews would offer little or no resistance and the Arabs (of Haifa, for instance) were assured that they would return to their own homes and property, plus those of the Jews who would have been marched into the sea within three days. The record further shows that Jewish authorities urged the Arabs to remain calmly in their homes and assured them that they would be treated with justice and equality in the Jewish state.

That there was a measure of sincerity in these assurances is indicated by the laudable, though by far inadequate efforts of the Israeli state at integration of the Arabs into the national community since the end of hostilities, and the appearance of several Arab parties on the ballot in the recent elections. One should also note that half or more of the Arabs now in Israel are Christian, suggesting that the Christian Arab felt he had no more to look forward to in the Moslem countries than under the Jews.

In suggesting partial resettlement of Arab refugees in Israel, it is not accurate to say that the government is not considering it. At the time of my visit two years ago I was reliably informed that Israel had offered to reunite families and had already admitted some twenty wives and minors. Two obstacles were presented by people who were otherwise sympathetic to the idea, at least in principle: Our first obligation is to our own (there were then thousands—and there are still many at present—of refugee Jews in eastern Europe, the Arab countries, and elsewhere, desperately trying to reach Israel); a refugee Arab is a potential spy or saboteur. Even if the second excuse is taken as the fear born of excessive nationalism and feeling of guilt, the first explanation cannot be dismissed.

To suggest that the Arabs can be resettled on the barren mountainsides is an oversimplification. The Jewish community has enough of a burden of moral guilt without groundlessly adding to it by implying that Jewish settlement is a record of moving in, taking over the fertile areas, and now barring the Arabs from even the infertile ones. Almost all of Palestine was desert, swamp, and rock-bare mountain only a few generations ago —the result of centuries of Arab neglect. The fertile valleys and reforested mountains are exclusively the work of the early Jewish pioneers who came to build and not to conquer, and whose history forms one of the most inspiring examples of peaceful heroism and self-sacrifice.

With Swomley's conclusions I am in much greater agreement. I would suggest, however, that the problem of the Middle East is for the Jews and Arabs to solve. To await the world's constructive interest is to leave the problem unsolved.

This means, fundamentally, reconciliation between Jew and Arab. Like all other nations, and more than most, Israel faces

the crucial choice between guns and butter. She cannot continue living on foreign subsidy, both because such funds are falling off and because it is not healthy for a community to continue such dependence indefinitely. She cannot supply adequate social service—particularly when a good third of her population is made up of recent DP's who have escaped, spiritually and physically wounded, from years in concentration camps and fiendish ghettoes—when so much of her manpower and budget has to go to the guarding of a ridiculously long and untenable frontier and to prepare for war. Finally, the agricultural and underdeveloped Arab lands and an industrialized Israel form an economic unit upon which a good life can be built for all Jews *and* all Arabs.

Israel, having decided to play the game of nation-state, must play it according to the rules. By these rules, and despite all the moral and historical justifications (justifications which I accept *because* I reject the nation-state game) Israel was the aggressor, and thus it is her responsibility to initiate reconciliation. Both the most selfish economic interests and the loftiest moral imperatives leave no alternative.

IGAL ROODENKO
*New York, N. Y.*

## Inadequacies

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

The pamphlet, ". . . But *how* do you make peace?," which was distributed in connection with the Peace Roll Call, may possibly point up an inadequacy of the program of the Fellowship at the present time. After describing the present program of the Fellowship, principally as carried on by the paid staff, the final page lists three things which the individual can do to help this kind of program: "(1) You can join. (2) You can contribute. (3) You can subscribe to FELLOWSHIP." The inadequacy of these suggestions is brought out by considering them in the light of a recent letter which came to me, as Chairman of the Michigan FOR, from a lady in a small isolated community:

> *While I was making out my list for Peace Roll Call, it occurred to me that there might be some work I could do in my home, either in relation to the Michigan FOR News, the mailing lists, or in promoting Peace Training. It would have to be "homework," for I have pre-school children and no means of transportation. If you know of some contribution of time and effort that I may make in behalf of the Michigan FOR—or of Peace in general—will you let me help?*

This lady is, of course, already doing the three things suggested in the pamphlet. Reconizing that the pamphlet is principally intended for people who are *not* members of the FOR, is it valid to imply that the doing of these three things is more than a minimum contribution toward genuine peacemaking? May it not

## LETTERS CONTEST

The winners in the contest on political action by pacifists are Orlene Murad of New Brunswick, New Jersey, who favored it, and Selma von Haden of Vista, California, who opposed. The two winners will receive, as their prize, either *A Private View of a Public Man*, the biography of Leyton Richards by his wife, or *The Theological Basis of Pacifism*, by Canon Charles E. Raven.

Miss Murad, while pessimistic about exerting much effect, made a compelling case for continued effort in all fields, including the political, for the cause of pacifism; and Mrs. von Haden argued that legitimized compulsion is inherent in politics and is an anti-educative force, and urged that pacifists increase their independence of the war system by improving familial and community ways of life.

be the case that the Fellowship is weakened, and its members are confused, by the suggestion that such preliminaries to peacemaking as these, actually constitute genuine peacemaking?

Last spring a student, interested in the work of peace, asked me about the FOR. I am somewhat ashamed to admit that my explanation of the Fellowship, together with his perusal of a number of issues of FELLOWSHIP, confirmed an impression which he had already formed, that the FOR was for those interested in "theory" rather than for those who wanted to work for peace, in a concrete way, in their local communities. What does the FOR say to individuals, such as these, who want to work for peace where they are?

The fact is that some of our local groups are languishing, and many members are confused as to their direction. We need strenuous re-thinking of our work at the individual and local group level.

We need to re-awaken in ourselves, and in all members of the FOR, a vital sense of what the Quakers call "concern," that is, a sense of one's own special task or calling, a rendezvous with God in the midst of the world's need. According as we seek to clarify this calling, we find God at work in two places: on the one hand, he works within, in the deepest places of the soul, bringing new light in the midst of darkness, courage and strength in the face of seemingly hopeless tasks, and original solutions to the problems confronting us; on the other hand, we discover him at work in the midst of the very situation which, to our limited view, seems utterly devoid of hope or promise. This double encounter with God is open only to those who resolutely take up the work which is theirs to do, even though it may seem to involve loss of prestige, financial insecurity and other personal risks. This is to "take up one's cross," which is also to "enter into life."

Whatever else the FOR does, on a national or local group basis, its primary work must be the strengthening of the life of peace in all its members. This involves definite programs of training, occasions of group search and sharing, and a constant emphasis upon the pacifist witness and way of life. The vital center must be the work of God in the heart of each servant of His kingdom.

HOWARD ALEXANDER
*Adrian, Michigan*

## Hooray!

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

The November issue of FELLOWSHIP is extremely pertinent reading—the only worthwhile magazine in circulation!

MRS. WILLIAM OHAN
*Tulare, Calif.*

## The Swiss

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

. . . The Swiss experience includes this feature which may be of interest: During two centuries of bitter religious disputes within the Confederation following the Reformation, three of the then thirteen cantons were constitutionally designated as permanent neutrals and charged with the duty of unceasing conciliation and mediation in disputes between the other cantons, of which there were many.

WILLIAM B. LLOYD, JR.
*Winnetka, Illinois*

## FOR Field Secretaries

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